

THE EXAMINER.

"PROVE ALL THINGS; HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

VOLUME I.

THE EXAMINER;

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TERMS.

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PAUL SEYMOUR,

PUBLISHER.

Effects of Slavery on Industry.

Let us examine the Effects of Slavery on Industry in all its forms. In the South, manual labor is considered menial and degrading; it is the business of slaves. In the free States, the majority work with their hands, counting it the natural business of a man, not a reproach, but a duty and a dignity. Thus, in Boston—the richest city of the world—out of 19,037 private families in 1845, there were 15,744 who kept no servant, and only 1,069 who had more than one assistant to perform their household labor. In the South, the free man shuns labor; "in a slave country, every freeman is an aristocrat," and of course labor is avoided by such. Where work is disgraceful, men of spirit will not submit to it. So the high-minded but independent free men are continually getting worse off, or else emigrating out of the slave States, into the new States, not the enterprising adventurer goes from New England, because he wants more room, but because his condition is a reproach.

Most of the productive work of the South is done by slaves. But the slave has no stimulus; the natural instinct of production is materially checked. The master has the mouth which consumes, the slave only the hand which earns. He labors not for himself, but for another; for another, who continually wrongs him. His aim, therefore, is to do the least he can get along with. He will practice no economy; no thrift; he breaks his tools. He will not think for his master; it is all hand-work, for he only gives what the master can force from him, and he cannot conceal; there is no head-work. There is no invention in the slave; little among the masters, for their business is to act on men, not directly on things. This circumstance may fit the slaveholder for politics—a certain character; it unfits him for the great operations of productive industry. They and all labor-saving contrivances come from the North. In 1846, there were seventy-six patents granted by the national office for inventions made in fourteen slave States, with a population of 7,334,431, or one for each 96,505 persons; at the same time, there were 564 granted to the free States, with a population of 9,725,922, or one for each 17,249 persons. Maryland, by her position, partakes more of the character of the free States than most of her sisters, and accordingly made twenty-one inventions—more than a fourth part of all made in the South. But Massachusetts had made sixty-two; and New York with a population of only 2,428,921, had received two hundred and forty-seven patent rights, more than three times as many as the whole South. Works which require intelligence and skill require also the slave. The South can grow hand; the North which builds the timber; it can rear cotton; the free ships. The South must weave it into intelligence of the North.

In Connecticut, every farmer and day-laborer, in his family or person, is a consumer, not only of the productions of his own farm or workshop, but also of tea, coffee, sugar, rice, molasses, salt and spices; of cotton, woolen, and silk goods, ribbons and bonnets, of shoes and hats, of beds and other furniture, of hardware, tinware, and cutlery, of crockery and glass-ware, of clocks and jewelry, of books, paper and the like. His wants stimulate the mechanic and the merchant, they stimulate him in return, all grow up together; each has a market at home, a market continually enlarging and giving vent to superior wares. The young man can turn his hand to the art he likes best. Industry, activity, intelligence, and beauty, are the result.

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Ultra-Southern Views.

The leading papers and statesmen of the partialists denounce the views of Messrs. Dallas, Cass, Dickinson, &c. We copy from the *Charleston Mercury*, the organ of that party, the following reply to them and their reasoning:

The approach of this mighty struggle for spoils—the Presidential election—and the disastrous defeat which awaits the Democratic party, in that great contest, unless the North and South can be united, have brought forth a letter from Mr. BUCHANAN, a speech from Mr. DALLAS, resolutions in the Senate from Mr. DICKINSON, and, within the last few days, a letter from Gen. CASS. The problem which perplexes us, is, to prohibit slavery in all the territory we may acquire from Mexico, without arousing the apprehensions of the South; to seem to abandon the Wilmot Proviso, and yet retain its principle; and thus unite the North and South in the support of a Northern candidate for the Presidency. This is the task to which politicians and party leaders have addressed all their ingenuity and all their tact. It is, indeed, a Herculean work. Let us warn the South, the weaker section, to beware. If we do not greatly mistake, now, as ever, this union is to be effected by the sacrifice of the South. The North will never surrender its cherished policy of prohibiting the diffusion of slavery over the Mexican territory, which is the undesignated purpose of our Government to acquire. The policy recommended by Mr. DICKINSON and Gen. CASS—and we see no material difference between their views and those of Mr. BUCHANAN and Mr. DALLAS—is a superficial observer, seems plausible—seems Democratic; yet of all the schemes which have been devised for the dismemberment and degradation of the South, it is by far the most adroit, and effectual. The proposition is, that to the inhabitants of the territory, not when they shall constitute a State, but while in the condition of a Territory, shall be submitted the question whether slavery shall exist within its limits. Slavery does not now exist in any department of Mexico, and has not existed for several years. The inhabitants of the portion which is likely to become the territory of the United States, are known to be adverse to this institution. Those inhabitants are Indians, Negroes, and Spaniards of impure blood.

To such a population, thus constituted and thus prejudiced, it is proposed shall be submitted a polity which they have discarded. To them shall be submitted the safety of their slaves. Both parties are served—this with labor, that with employment. There is no degradation but reciprocal gain. In a few years, the men who at first sold their labor, will themselves become proprietors, and hire others desirous of selling their services. It requires little capital to start with. So the number of

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This cause has long impeded the agriculture of the South. It will also hinder the advance of manufactures. At Lowell, the manufacturer builds his mill, buys his cotton, and reserves a sufficient sum for his "floating capital;" he hires five hundred men and women to work his machinery, paying them from week to week for the labor he has bought. In South Carolina, he must buy his operatives also; five hundred slaves at \$600 each, amount to \$300,000. This additional sum is needed before a wheel can turn. To start, it requires large capital; but capital is what is not so easily obtained in a slave State, where there are no natural stimulants urging the laboring mass to production. Men of small capital are kept out of the field; business is mainly in the hands of the rich; property tends to accumulate in the few hands.

Compare a slave and a free State. In the free population of the former there is less enterprise, less activity of body and mind, less intelligence, less production, less comfort, and less welfare. In the free States, an enterprising man, whose own hands are not enough for him to work out his thoughts with, can trade in human labor, buying men's work, and seeing the result of that work. That is the business of the merchant-manufacturer in all departments. In the present state of society, both parties are gainers by the operation. In the South, such a man must buy the laborers before he can use their work, but intelligent labor he cannot thus buy.

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On the other hand, the South, upon its by its own will; in the South, only through the medium of men reduced to the rank of things, and they act on material objects against their will. Half the moral and intellectual effect of labor is thereby lost; half the productive power of the labor itself. All the great movements of industry decline where the aristocracy own the bodies of the laboring class. No fertility of soil or loveliness of climate can ever make up for the want of industry, invention, and thrift, in the laboring population itself. Agriculture will not thrive as under the free man's hand. Slave labor can only be profitably employed in the coarse operations of field work. It was so in Italy 2,000 years ago; the rich gardens of Laium, Alba, Tuscany, were the work of freemen. When their owners were reduced to slavery by the Roman conqueror, those gardens became only pastures for buffaloes and swine. Only coarse staples—sugar, cotton, rice, corn, tobacco—can be successfully raised by the slaves of America! His rude tillage impoverishes the soil; the process of till "consists in killing the land." They who will keep slavery as a "patriarchal institution," must adopt the barbarism of the patriarchs, become nomadic, and wander from the land they have exhausted, to some virgin soil. The free man's fertilizing hand enriches the land longer he labors.

In Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, the soil is getting exhausted; the old land less valuable than the new. In 1787, said Gouverneur Morris, in the National Convention, "Compare the free regions of the Middle States, where a rich and noble cultivation marks the prosperity and happiness of the people, with the misery and poverty which overspread the barren wastes of Virginia, Maryland; and the other States having slaves. Travel through the whole continent, and you behold the prospect continually varying with the appearance and disappearance of slavery. The moment you leave the Eastern States, and enter New York, the effects of the institution become visible. Passing through the Jerseys, and entering Pennsylvania, every criterion of superior improvement witnesses the change. Proceed southwardly, and every step you take through the great regions of slaves presents a desert, increasing with the increasing proportion of these wretched beings." At this day, sixty years later, the contrast is yet more striking, as will presently appear. Slavery has wrought after its way. Every tree bears its own fruit.

Slavery discourages the immigration of able, but poor men from the free States. They go elsewhere to sell their labor; all the Southern States afford proof of this. The free man from the North will not put himself and his intelligent industry on a level with the slave, degraded and despised. In the free States, the farmer buys his land and his cattle; hires men to aid him in his work—he buys their labor. Both parties are served—this with labor, that with employment. There is no degradation but reciprocity gain. In a few years, the men who at first sold their labor, will themselves become proprietors, and hire others desirous of selling their services. It requires little capital to start with. So the number of

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J. C. VAUGHN, EDITOR.
F. COSEY, ASSISTANT EDITOR.

LOUISVILLE: FEB. 5, 1848.

A Problem.

South Carolina has less than twenty persons to the square mile; and her citizens are leaving her genial climate and rich soil by thousands!

Massachusetts, with a sterile land, and a hard climate, has over *a hundred* to the square mile, and the value of land is rising in all parts of it!

Fall and Exploit!

The Charleston Mercury, as quoted by the Era, declared in its editorial of Dec. 21st as follows:

Now we do not ask or desire that the Congress of the United States shall establish slavery in any new territory; that it cannot do.

A good Sign?

Every man who is for free discussion—and who is not? must rejoice to observe—not only, that slavery is becoming a general topic of debate and conversation—but that it is discussed with more calmness and thoroughness on all sides.

One instance we give in to-day's paper, in Mr. CLAY's able and eloquent Colonization speech. Not a harsh word is to be found in it. Not a single thought unkindly expressed! He speaks freely; speaks earnestly to the abolitionists of the North, to the slaves of the South—to all men.

Another may be found in Mr. PALFREY's strong speech in the House at Washington. He makes no question and dodges no issue. He examines thoroughly the positions set forth in defense of slavery by Mr. CLINGMAN of North Carolina. But he does it calmly, in admirable temper and with a truly Christian spirit.

Yet another instance, may be observed in Mr. CLINGMAN's speech in defense of the South and of slavery. He acknowledges what is wrong in the conduct of the perpetuators; but his tone is manly, and marked by a liberal courtesy. He does not deal in denunciation, abuse; he reasons, appeals to the common sense and better feelings of men. This is as it should be. If we can (and we can if we will) make this the common spirit, no one need apprehend, anywhere, any difficulty in the fullest and freest discussion of slavery. And what is our boasted freedom of speech worth, if this cannot be done?

Population.

We have said over and over again that population is the source of power and progress, and that without it, neither city nor country can thrive.

Suppose, for a moment, that Kentucky was as thickly settled as Ohio, and labor free, would Louisville, or Frankfort, or Mayville, or Covington be limited to the numbers they now sustain? Would fields be vacant around them, and the population to the square mile be small as it is? If we look at Cincinnati, having now, with her suburbs, *one hundred and ten thousand* souls, if we look at the country adjoining, we shall find every foot of soil improved, and land for tillage divided off into ten, fifteen, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty acres, and occupied by the industrious, and hard-working. All these are producers. If we turn our attention home, or to the towns of the State, we have as a whole, the reverse of the picture. We have large farms worked by slaves, and mechanics, and small farmers, especially those who are married cannot be induced by any ordinary temptation to settle among us. A large body of our population are non-producers. Hence we barely maintain our own; we fear, indeed, the next census will show that the State has lost in population and power.

The cause of this is palpable enough. It is not, using the figures already used, and prepared by another, we can make it so, to any one who will read them:

1790.

New England, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, contained 1,961,372 Slave States, 1,961,372

Here was a fair start! The difference between the two was trifling. Taking into consideration the superiority of the South in soil, climate, and natural advantages, her position was the best; the promise of success and growth seemed brightest for her. None, indeed, could have doubted as to her increase in wealth, and power, and greatness. Yet see what the census of 1840, tells:

1840.

Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, N. Carolina, S. Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky contained 5,479,862 The Free States above 6,67,002

"In fifty years those Slave States," says our authority, "had increased 179 per cent; those free States 243 per cent, or with sixtysix-fold greater rapidity!"

Test this matter in another way, or by another table. In 1790, the entire population of the Slave States was 1,961,372.

1840.

Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, N. Carolina, S. Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky contained 7,334,431 All the Free States 9,725,992

"The Slave State had increased 279 per cent; the free, 594, the latter increasing with a rapidity ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTEEN per cent, greater than the former."

We can bring this matter, however, closer home. There be those among us who remember when this was the far-west, and a wilderness. Freedom was on one side; slavery on the other. Up North the climate is severe; unhealthy. Here, and farther South, it is genial, and the soil as fertile as man could desire. And we had the start; a fair start, too; and that is a great matter in the movements of population. But see the result in the new States, free and slave:

1810.

Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Tennessee, Missouri, Kentucky contained 805,991 Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Kentucky, and Florida contained 272,324

Who, then, believed that these four free States would ever catch up to us? Who dreamed that they would surpass us? "I left Ohio," said a veteran pioneer, "believing that Kentucky would be foremost of all the Western States, and Louisville first among all western cities." Such was the popular belief. Yet look to the story told by the census of 1840:

1840.

Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, with Wisconsin and Iowa, had 2,967,840

Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Tennessee, Missouri, Kentucky, and Florida contained 3,409,132

"In fifty years, the new slave States had increased 323 per cent, and the new free States, ONE THOUSAND AND NINETEEN per cent!"

One further test—the severest yet—for this puts freeman against freeman. And who can object? It is but fair to both sides—indeed it is the best method after all of proving the tremendous evil of slavery in sapping every source of strength, and retarding all true growth. Let us, then, compare the growth of the whites in free and slave States.

1840.

Free in Slave States. Free in Slave States. 1790 1,930,125 1,394,847

1840 9,373,583 4,846,105

Observe. In 1790, the difference was trifling. It was only 536,278. But in 1840, how the free-men of the slave States fell behind the number of freemen in the free States. The difference

is, FOUR MILLION, EIGHT HUNDRED AND SEVENTY NINE, SEVEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-EIGHT SOULS IN favor of the free States!

Letter from Mexico.
The steamship New Orleans arrived from Vera Cruz on the 16th ult. The following is a summary of the news received by the Picayune.

The loss in consequence of the attack upon the train under Col. Miles, will fall principally upon foreign merchants, to whom the pack mules stolen belonged. One English firm lost property to the amount of \$64,000. It is expected that Gen. Twiggs will assess upon the district of Oriente, whence the brigands came, the amount lost. Ten or twelve men were killed in the skirmish. The portion of the train cut off, had incendiarily lagged behind.

The ship Ocean arrived at Vera Cruz, from New York, with recruits under command of Capt. Henry of the 3rd Infantry.

A mail via Orizaba, brought dates from the city of Mexico, to the 1st of January. Gen. Scott had issued an order assessing upon the States of Mexico, occupied or to be occupied by our troops, an annual tax, amounting to about three millions of dollars. The Governors and members of the legislatures in the different States, and collecting officers now in commission, and hitherto charged with the collection of the federal dues of any kind, are, individually, to be held responsible in their persons and property for the collection and full payment of the assessment—one twelfth monthly. Articles of subsistence and forage may be taken wholly or in part, in payment of the tax. Should any State fail to pay its assessment, the functionaries of said State are to be seized and imprisoned, and their property converted to the use of the American army; and on the failure of these measures to enforce the regular payment of the amount assessed, the commanding officers of the United States forces within the delinquent States, are to collect it from the "weather inhabitants."

The usual dues heretofore levied on the precious metals, in the interior, by the Mexican government, are to be continued and collected for the military chest of the army.

Mr. Parker's Letter.

The letter of this gentleman on Slavery is one of the strongest we have read. It is, as a composition, remarkable for its condemnation, clearness, force; it has, too, that glow of eloquence about it which is sure to win the attention, and command the sympathy, of all who are prepared to reason upon the author's facts, or admit his conclusions.

A Northern man in writing on Slavery may have a twofold object: the first being to rouse the attention of the free States—to fix their eye and heart upon the evil—and, by doing so, to create, or quicken a moral power in them which shall be exerted directly and earnestly to reach and remove it; the second, to convince the South, to persuade it to hear, to consider, to act. Mr. Parker's letter might have embraced, succinctly, both objects. Its array of facts, its startling contrasts of the growth and power of free and slave States, its clutching grasp as to the cause of this difference, its massive arguments in defense of justice, could not fail, if presented to the Southern mind, to make a deep, perhaps a lasting and active impression upon it. But owing to certain strong expressions—to the manner in which some of his views are expressed—to what will be regarded by many as errors of serious import—we fear its circulation will not be extended in the South. True, no man should reject or refuse to consider the truth of fact or of reasoning, because of few mistakes in figures or argument. True, also, that such mistakes do not affect the general correctness of an author. Still they will proceed thus, though Mr. Parker, "as a man of integrity, writes to each American as a man, having confidence in his integrity and love of men, and bids him read with what prejudice he may, but decide and act according to reason and conscience."

What Mr. Parker says, for instance, about the effect of Slavery upon education (we have published that) is unquestionably true. Slavery retards it; nay, as to that, Slavery *prevents* its diffusion. We who were born and reared in the midst of it, know this as a fact. What slave State has good common schools? What one can claim any thing that looks like a good system of education? Nothing, worth mentioning, has been done to instruct the masses; they are, as their children will likely be, unlettered, vast numbers of them not being able to read the charter of their liberties, or glean for themselves the truths of Christianity! Spots not Slavery, spare not any cause, which brings this saddest of all misfortunes to the individual, or inflicts this soror of all evils upon the State! Spare nothing which keeps fathers and mothers and their children in deepest mental blindness! But not content with doing this, Mr. Parker adds the following sweeping declarations:

"When we have received the kindness done, and increased by doing, amid bad laws, and serious difficulties, throughout slave-dom he could have dwelt upon it—if, yet more, he had paled his mighty power to reach this southern spirit of kindness, and lead it on to higher good—this compact and strong letter of his would have touched many a Southerner, and borne onward in the South, the cause of human freedom!"

But this publication, and other tracts and sermons, convincing us that we of the South, before we can emancipate, should instantly demand the passage of laws legalizing colored marriages, and forbidding the separation of families. It is this feature of slavery which shocks the public.

By an order of the civil and military governor of the city of Mexico, three gazing houses and more, are hereafter to be allowed in that city, and these are to pay, in advance, a monthly tax of \$500.

A large force of Guerrilleros under Padre Jarama, were known to be in the vicinity of the city of Mexico, but the United States Dragoons had failed to come up with them.

Dates had been received from Queretaro to the 26th of December. Hopes were then entertained that the approaching Congress would have a quorum, and there was much less talk of pronouncements and revolutions. A letter of the 26th says, that all parties are agreed not to send commissioners to Washington, arbitration being preferable to that stage of degradation.

Democratic Views.

Mr. McLane (Democrat) of the Baltimore Congressional District has made the best defense of the war we have yet read in the House. We cannot give his speech—it is too long—not a synopsis of it—for that would weaken his argument. We differ with him in *as to* his views; but we agree with him *entirely* as to the main principle he avows, as regards the rights of States, in the following paragraph:

"When come the men of superior education who occupy the pulpits, exercise the professions of Law and Medicine, or fill the chairs of Professors in the Colleges of the Union—All stem all from the North, from the free States. There is preaching everywhere. But search the whole Southern States for the last seven-and-forty years, and it was hard to show a single preacher of any eminence in any pulpit of a slaveholding State; a single clergyman remarkable for ability in his calling, for great ideas, for eloquence, elsewhere elsewhere.

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Justice.

How frequently this word is used! How little it is understood!

Yet, for what are governments established, but this one thing? Our bills of rights—our constitutions—our laws—all our official acts stand, or profess to stand, on this basis. An English writer says:—

Civil government is first mainly, we might almost say exclusively, for the administration of justice. They are ought to be, emphatically, the defenders of every individual's rights. Their service is most wanted where trespass is most done. The weak, the powerless, they whose own things, whatever they may be, lie most exposed to depredation by every indiscriminate power—by who have no private means of protection, no opportunity for making their voice heard, no influence, neither the physical force of moral force which may be brought to bear against transgressors by the more fortunate classes, nor are the men who stand in most need of justice, and, alas, these, too, are the men whom Governments, as they exist, almost invariably leave to right themselves if they can.

Much of the evil may originate in that particularity of legislation which, like the stream from the fountain, necessarily, because naturally, well up from a tainted source—a class-chosen house of representatives. But not a little of it is to be attributed to those circumstances of the Constitution, in reference to the protection of those in whose behalf they are appointed to act; place justices at such a height, as to be far beyond the reach of all who cannot go up to her mounted seat—a sufficiency of pecuniary means. In theory, it may be true that our tribunals are equally open to all—but as long as law is and impartially open to all—but as long as law is a mystery more profound than even the black art, and whilst all its processes are made so intricate, as to place every man, who, so long shall we have to depend that the administration of justice by our governments is a boon offered only to a class, and that class the least considerable in number, the least exposed to wrong, and the most competent to find or force reparation, of all who own allegiance to "the powers that be."

May we not apply much of this language to our own land? Must we not admit, that we too, have cause to complain! And why is it so? Our theory is right. Not a man breathes who is not entitled to the protection of the law! Not one to whom justice is denied! Condition makes no difference. None so poor as to be above the law; none so rich, or powerful as to deny it. Justice is dealt equally to all. It covers with its mantle the lowly, and guards with its sword the rich. This is the theory of our government—Yet, here and every where, men complain of injustice. Why is it? Says the writer already quoted:

"Something, unquestionably, must be done down to the root of the iniquity, of the infamy of all our institutions, and to the limitations by which all social possibilities are bounded. But we think we may in strict trifling assert, that were the heart in its right place, its pulsations would be more regular, and would reach with comparative ease the extremities of the system. If, in the framing of our laws—if, in the constitution of the machinery by which they are dispensed—if, in the appointment and the maintenance of the officers to whom this business is entrusted, the one hundred and fifty pounds sterling had been expended in planting that colony—at the end of seventeen years, of those 9,000 emigrants less than 2,000 remain; all the rest had fallen victims, either to the climate, the savages, the circumstantial connections with their change of condition. And if we go to other early settlements, such as Jamestown, or Plymouth—I think history has recorded, if I do not mistake the testimony, that in less than six months after their landing, one half were destroyed, or died from the ravages of disease. Now, compare these facts with the history of Liberia, and what is the result?" In twenty-five years, during which, emigrants have been transported from the United States to that colony, the total deaths amount to only twenty per cent. on the total emigration; showing a mortality, in twenty-five years, far less than that of the negro slaves in the same period after the settlement at Plymouth, and far less than that of the Colony of Jamestown for the first seventeen years. Indeed, the mortality at Jamestown, in seventeen years, was more than four times greater than in Liberia during the twenty-five years of the estimate to which I refer. We have nothing, then, in the bills of mortality to frighten us in this experiment, or dissuade us from its prosecution.

Well, as it has been stated, throughout the whole progress of our society from its origin, it has been surrounded by difficulties, and beset by enemies in front and rear, and on both flanks. (Cheers.) The Abolitionists have asserted, as well as those of the opposite extreme, that we may yet wholly annihilate the slave system. I repeat, we do not interfere with their own slaves; it is the object of the abolitionists, by their opposition to colonization, to interfere with the title to slaves; and that the slaves would not be free colored race residing among us have the option to go to Africa or remain in the United States?

I know it is sometimes alleged that it is inhuman and cruel to send these blacks to Africa, when they are inexpressible death. It would not stop me from doing it, but with their own consent, and when this business is entrusted to the one hundred and fifty pounds sterling had been expended in planting that colony—at the end of seventeen years, of those 9,000 emigrants less than 2,000 remain; all the rest had fallen victims, either to the climate, the savages, the circumstantial connections with their change of condition. And if we go to other early settlements, such as Jamestown, or Plymouth—I think history has recorded, if I do not mistake the testimony, that in less than six months after their landing, one half were destroyed, or died from the ravages of disease. Now, compare these facts with the history of Liberia, and what is the result?" In twenty-five years, during which, emigrants have been transported from the United States to that colony, the total deaths amount to only twenty per cent. on the total emigration; showing a mortality, in twenty-five years, far less than that of the negro slaves in the same period after the settlement at Plymouth, and far less than that of the Colony of Jamestown for the first seventeen years. Indeed, the mortality at Jamestown, in seventeen years, was more than four times greater than in Liberia during the twenty-five years of the estimate to which I refer. We have nothing, then, in the bills of mortality to frighten us in this experiment, or dissuade us from its prosecution.

Well, it is said we have yet done little, but still the great enterprises of men have but small beginnings. The founders of our country, and the slaves taken them, were succeeded by a wolf. The colonies at Jamestown and Plymouth, to which I have referred, languished for years after the period to which I have called your attention, and now, on what land is there a spot, on what sea is there a sail floating, that does not carry the enterprise, the skill and the courage of our New England brethren? (Great cheering.) And on what battle-field, on what council-chamber, and in what portion of the country is there a soldier, a son upon whom we do not find the spirit of our young country? On what field, on what rampart, on what entrenchment, shall we have sprung up to invoke—as in closing, I now do upon the noble cause of Colonization, the blessing of God whose smile, I think, has been hitherto extended to it.

Mr. CLAY here took his seat, amid thunder of applause.

Arrival of the Britanniæ.

FIFTEEN DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE!

BOSTON, Feb. 2.

The royal mail steamer Britanniæ arrived yesterday, bringing dates to the 15th ult.

At Liverpool, Jan. 15, the Cotton market had declined \$4 cent per pound. Sales of the week amounted to 55,560 bales, closing with an improved feeling. The market at Mark Lane, on Monday last, the 10th inst., presented no novelty. Prices of best qualities remain unsettled.

The transaction in foreign corns were on a line similar, and continued to the same as those of the preceding week.

FLOUR AND CORNMEAL.—The market in Liverpool, during the present week, still continues depressed, both for British and American, first class brands. American Flour being only 29 6/10c per bbl. Indian Cornmeal has declined 24 per quarter and is 14 per bbl below the quotations of the last week, and transactions are still limited.

The operations in Provisions continue to be small. In dried Provisions, both of home and foreign origin, the transactions are to a fair extent. In the London markets American Beef and Pork, although not lower in price, are not in active demand.

Ab-del-Kader has surrendered to the French, and is now their prisoner.

The Queen of Spain is not expected to live.

There have been several failures in London and Glasgow, but none of moment have occurred.

In the present unsatisfactory state of the British empire, the improvement in business is beginning to be felt. Money, however, has improved. Consols advanced from \$5 to \$7.

The Bank of England has over \$12,000,000 of bullion in her vaults.

Switzerland has reduced her army, and the religious orders are compelled to pay immensums for the expenses of the war. The Pope complains to the Diet of the conduct of the Federal army.

The allied powers still talk of an intervention in the affairs of Switzerland and Italy.

We find by the foreign news that Princess Adelaide of France is dead.

P. Soule has been elected U.S. Senator from the State of Louisiana.

It is said Post Captain is to be tried for conduct unbecoming an officer of the American Navy before the enemy. Who the Captain is, is not stated.

Powers' Statue is at Washington.

The Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia Bulletin has realized some \$300,000 by the sale of his lands in Virginia, to an English company.

The Supreme Court of the U. S. has dismissed the appeal of Mrs. Conner, who claimed to be the widow of Gen. J. V. Vanzen.

American Colonization Society. SPEECH OF HENRY CLAY.

Reported for the New York Tribune.

Mr. CLAY, on rising, was greeted with round after round of applause. After this manifestation of regard and enthusiasm, he proceeded as follows:

Gentlemen of the Colonization Society:

I have been committed to say a few words. Rather against my wishes, and unexpectedly to myself, I have been advertised in the newspapers, I believe, to make some address on this occasion. I have no reproaches to make against those who have placed me in this position. But I must present myself before you, and make no pretension to this large and respectable assembly together; neither am I prepared to do justice to this subject or to myself. I have just terminated a journey of considerable length and arduousness, performed in mid-winter, and surrounded at every place where I have stopped, by throngs of friends, leaving absolutely no leisure whatever for that preparation which ought always to be made before one presents himself to an audience as this. I come before you without a solitary note, and with very little mental preparation for any sort; absolutely with no preparation for an elaborate address. I will therefore advise all who have come here with the expectation of hearing anything extraordinary, to leave the Hall, and by so doing they would doubtless leave it with much fewer auditors than at first assembled. (Cheers.) Yet I confess myself unequal to the opportunity of a few words, natural with circumstances repeated ad interim to the eve of the evening of my having met here in company with others thirty years ago for the foundation of this Society. It has been some years since I have had the honor of standing or sitting upon the place which I occupy this evening, and you will allow me to say that, in all human probability, it will be the last instance in which I may ever appear before you.

You have all been told that the members of this Society were undertaken by the Government to protect the slaves in the United States, and that those who are appointed to act, place justices at such a height, as to be far beyond the reach of all who cannot go up to her mounted seat. To no other place could you send an emigrant on such terms as these; to no part of the Pacific coast—to Mexico or to Oregon. But Africa was also the most inviting in another and more important point of view. Would you send your African emigrant to any other place, you deprive yourself of this great moral principle, their harmonious union with those among whom they go to reside, mingle and amalgamate. To no other place can this consideration attach.

But it is said that the purposes of Colonization, were undertaken by the Government to protect the slaves in the United States, and that those who are appointed to act, place justices at such a height, as to be far beyond the reach of all who cannot go up to her mounted seat. To no other place could you send an emigrant on such terms as these; to no part of the Pacific coast—to Mexico or to Oregon. But Africa was also the most inviting in another and more important point of view. Would you send your African emigrant to any other place, you deprive yourself of this great moral principle, their harmonious union with those among whom they go to reside, mingle and amalgamate. To no other place can this consideration attach.

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LITERARY EXAMINER.

Verse.

BY WILLIAM C. ERYANT.
In wonder still I rested,
And on me down to look
Upon the wheel's quick glimmer,
Aa on the flowing brook.

As in a dream before me,
The saw, with restless play,
Was cleaving through fir-tree
Its long and steady way.

The tree through all its fibres
With living motion stirred,
And, in a dirge-like murmur,
These solo words I heard—

Oh, thou who wanderest hither,
A timely guest thou art!

For these this cruel engine
Is passing through my heart.

When soon, in earth's still bosom,
Thy hours of rest begin,
This wood shall form the chamber
Whose walls shall close thee in.

Four planks—I saw and shuddered—
Dropped in that busy mill;
Then, as I tried to answer,
At once the wheel was still.

We give another of our great countrymen's lectures on "Representative Men." The originality, vigor, and brilliancy with which this, and every subject which he touches, is treated, will command it even to those who may dissent from his conclusions:

Mr. Emerson's Lecture at the Mechanics' Institution, Nottingham.

"NAPOLEON, THE MAN OF ACTION."

Mr. Emerson, on his appearance, was received with cheering, and proceeded to deliver, with perspicuity of style, and ease of manner, the lecture, of which the following is a brief outline:—Among the principal men who figure in modern history, the average character and aims of the nineteenth century are best expressed by Napoleon Buonaparte. Not the best nor the worst, but the best known and the most powerful of the men of his period—he owed his predominance to the fidelity with which he expresses the tone of thought, the belief, the aims, of the masses of cultivated men. We cannot better hold up to the judgment of reason the popular modes of thinking and acting in his time, than by looking at them in the life of such an individual.

In natural history, we are told that every organ is composed of homogeneous particles; that every whole is made up of similars; that the lungs are constituted of infinitely small lungs, the liver of infinitely small livers, and the kidneys of infinitely small kidneys. And by this analogy, if any man carries with him a power over the minds and affections of vast numbers of people, it is because he represents them; if Napoleon is France, it is Europe, it is because the people always are men of the same kind,—are little Napoleons. He is an incarnate democrat; the representative of the democratic, active, middle class of men; having its virtues and vices, and, above all, its spirit and aim. He is material in his aims; his object is sensual success. Intellectual, learned, and skilful, he subjects all these qualities to the attainment of material success. "God has granted," says the Koran, "to every people a prophet in his own time." Paris, London, New York, was each to have its prophet; and Buonaparte was qualified and sent. He is thoroughly modern; he represents the spirit of the newspaper. As he himself said, he is "no saint, no capuchin." He is no hero, in the high sense. The common man admires him, because he finds him like himself. He becomes not merely the representative, but actually a monopoliser and usurper, of other minds. Like Mirabeau, he makes use of all the best thoughts of other men. All the sentiments which commonly embarrass men in the pursuit of the objects they desire, he renounces. There is an Italian proverb, "If you would succeed, you must not be too good." He would help himself with his hands and head; he was a worker, in brass, in iron, in buildings, in money, and, in troops, and a wise master workmen. He came unto his own, and they received him. He superadded to these natural and animal forces, insight and generalisation.

The art of war was the perpetual game he studied, and in which he exerted his wonderful arithmetic. The times, his own constitution, and the circumstances of his youth and education, combined to develop this democrat to the highest degree. He no sooner saw the end than he beheld the means. He himself had always the greatest share in every success. Such a man was wanted, and such a man was born. He had no scruples; he was intensely selfish. He talked frequently of his destiny; and admitted that he was only marching in unison with his fellow-men. He had a directness of action never before combined with so much comprehensiveness. He is ever a realist, terrific to all talkers and truth obsurers. He never blundered into victory; his principal means were in himself.

History is full of the imbecility of kings and governors, who, in times of difficulty, did not know what to do. Napoleon did know what to do. Had his ends been public, and not egoistic, he had been the first man in the world. He cared not at what price success was obtained. Still he was not cruel, he was not blood thirsty; but he would suffer no obstacle to stand in his way. Even his own life he frequently perilled. His victories were only so many doors, or new weapons, and he never lost sight of his way onward. He fought sixty battles, and never had enough. His prodigious vigor was guarded and tempered by the coldest prudence and punctuality. When talking of moral courage, he said he rarely met with a man who had any of the "two o'clock in the morning" kind; that is, when totally unprepared for action. That sort of courage he considered that he did possess in a high degree. His secretary at the Tuilleries was ordered not to disturb his rest with the announcement of a victory; but, in case of a defeat, to arouse him instantly. His achievement of business was immense, and enlarges our ideas of the known powers of man. He was not to be imposed upon. He could cipher as well as another man. When his palace expenses involved him in debt, he examined the accounts himself, and detected numerous over-charges.

His grand weapon—the millions he directed—he owed to his representative character. He interests us only as he stands for France and for Europe. The talent and activity of the country looked up to him as a natural chieflain. Like other strong spirits, he had an impatience of fools. In Italy he said there were eighteen millions of inhabitants, yet but few men were to be found. He discerned merit, and promoted it; seventeen men in his time were raised from common soldiers to be kings, marshals, dukes, or generals. Before ambition drove him and he might almost be cited as a model of prudence. To what heaps of cowardly doubt is not his life an answer! He not only knew better than he did, but he knew that he knew better. All men, I think know better than they do; they know

that the customs and institutions they so lightly command are mere baubles.

He was highly intellectual, and delighted in discussions on practical, literary, and abstract questions; and in these discussions he would never hear of materialism. He would point to the stars, and say, "You may talk as you will; but who made all that?" The most grateful parts of the picture of his life are these hours of thought and wisdom. But, with the virtues of the middle classes whom he represented, you must not be surprised if he had their vices also. It is a fatal quality of the pursuit of wealth, that it generally leads to the breaking down, or the weakening of the sentiments. And this will be found in all those whose highest object is external success. Napoleon was singularly destitute of generous sentiments. He had not the merit of common truth and honesty; he was unjust to all his generals; egotistic and monopolising; meanly sealing the credit of others great actions. He was a boundless liar; in his premature old age, he coolly falsified the facts, dates, and characters of history.

Like all Frenchmen, he was anxious for stage-effect. His doctrine of immortality is simply fame; with him, the two levers for men were interest and fear; love was a silly infatuation, and friendship but a name. He said he loved nobody. He would steal and slander, assassinate, drown, and poison, as his interest dictated; he had no generosity to an enemy, but mere vulgar hatred; he was intensely selfish and perfidious, cheated at cards, was a prodigious gossip, opened letters, delighted in his infamous police, interfering in the patterns of the dresses of women, and listening *incognito* after the humours and compliment of the street. He treated women without respect, and with coarse familiarity and even insult. In short, when we penetrate to this man's centre, we find that we are not dealing with a gentleman, but with an impostor and a rogue; a fellow deserving the epithet of Jupiter Scapini—a sort of scamp Jupiter.

In describing the two parties which constitute modern society, the democratic and the conservative, I said that Buonaparte belonged to the first. I omitted then, to say, that those parties differ only in being young and old. The aristocrat is the democrat ripened and gone to seed. Because both stand upon one ground—the supreme value of property; the one endeavours to get it, and the other to keep it. Buonaparte represents the modern party,—its youth and age, and with poetic justice, its fate in his own. This instructive history has its practical moral. Napoleon was an experiment, under the most favorable conditions, of intellect, unsupported (if you will, untrammelled) by conscience. Never was such a leader so endowed and so weaponed; never leader found such aids and followers. And what was the result of this vast talent and power; of these immense armies, burned cities, squandered treasures, annihilated millions of men, this demoralised Europe? It came to no result. All passed away like the smoke of his artillery, and left no trace.

He left France smaller, poorer, and feeble than he found it, and the whole contest for freedom was to be begun again. The attempt itself was, in principle, suicidal. France served him with life, limb, and estate, as long as it could at all identify its might with him; but when men saw that after victory was another war; after the destruction of armies, new conscriptions; and that they who had toiled so desperately were nearer to the reward, they deserted him. They found out his mere egotism, seeking to gratify itself at the expense of all other men. The universal cry of Europe was, "We have had enough of Buonaparte." He did all that in his lay, to live and thrive without moral principle. But it cannot be; the eternal law of man and of the world forbids it. Every experiment by multitudes or by individuals, that has a sensual and selfish aim, will fail. The pacific Fourier will be as inefficient as the pernicious Napoleon. As long as our civilization is essentially one of property, of fences, of exclusiveness, it will be mocked by delusions; our riches will leave us sick; there will be bitterness in our laughter; and our wine will burn our mouth. Only that good profits which we can taste with all doors open, and which serves all men.—*Nottingham Mercury.*

The Interior of Africa.

This is almost, as yet, a *terra incognita*. We know Europe pretty thoroughly. Asia has been traversed all its length by civilized travellers. With the geography of America we may call ourselves familiar. But how little do we know of the vast continent which lies wholly within the tropics, and of which the greater part seems shut up as effectually against the advance of civilization as if it were upon another planet! Indeed, the "mountains of the moon" would be subject to more accurate observation were they situated upon the satellite from which they derive their name. The efforts of civilized travellers have been for centuries directed to the recesses of this continent, yet four-fifths of it is blank upon our maps. Its whole village priest, who has been sent for by the *Academie des Sciences*, in order to enlighten that respectable corps of savans concerning the extraordinary gift which he possesses of discovering hidden springs beneath the earth. It is curious to behold the touching simplicity of his manners, and the utter unconsciousness of the importance of the gift with which it has pleased Heaven to bless him. It appears that this man's powers are most extraordinary, that he has never once been deceived, but told on the instant, without hesitation, the exact spot where water may be found. He is singular amongst those who have hitherto professed the science in his utter dependence of the divining rod, which he had never needed. He describes the sensation he experiences when walking over a spring to be that of a keen and prickling pain in the throat and nostrils, like that occasioned by the inhalation of phosphorus or too strong a pinch of snuff.—*Paris Correspondent of the Atlas.*

Governing Principles of Religion.

Those who cry down moral honesty, cry down that which is a great part of religion—my duty towards God, and my duty towards man. What care I to see a man run after a sermon, if he cozen and cheat as soon as he comes home? On the other side, morality must not be without religion; for if so, it may change, as I see convenience. Religion must govern it. He that has no religion to govern his morality, is not a drab better than my mastiff dog; so long as you stroke and please him, and do not pinch him, he will play with you as finely as may be. He is a very good moral mastiff, but if you hurt him, he will fly in your face, and tear out your throat.—*John Soden.*

There are so many tender and holy emotions flying about in our inward world, which, like angels, can never assume the body of an outward act; so many rich and lovely flowers spring up which bear no seed, that it is a happiness poetry was, in certain, let us look into the interior. For half a century the English government have been

expending lives and treasure in a partial exploration. They have found that this whole tract of country is one of amazing fertility and beauty, abounding in gold and all sorts of tropical vegetation. There are hundreds of woods, invaluable for dying and architectural purposes, not found in other portions of the world. Through it for thousands of miles sweeps a river, from three to six miles broad, with clear water and of unsurpassed depth, flowing on at the rate of two or three miles an hour, without rock, shoal or snag, to interrupt its navigation. Other rivers pour into this, tributary waters of such volume as must have required hundreds of miles to be collected, yet they seem scarcely to enlarge it. This river pours its waters into the Atlantic, through the most magnificent delta in the world, consisting perhaps of a hundred mouths, extending probably five hundred miles along the coast, and mostly broad, deep, and navigable for steamboats. Upon this river are scattered cities, some of which are estimated to contain a million of inhabitants, and the whole country teems with a dense population.

Far in the interior, in the very heart of the country, is an nation in advanced state of civilization. The grandeur and beauty of portions of the country through which the Niger makes its sweeping circuit, are indescribable. In many places its banks rise boldily a thousand feet, thickly covered with the richest vegetation of tropical climes. But all this vast and sublime country, this scene of rich fertility and romantic beauty, is apparently shut out forever from the rest of the world. It is the negro's sole possession. He need not fear the incursions of the white man there—for over this whole lovely country broods one dread malitia, and to the white man it is the "valley of the shadow of death." In expedition after expedition, sent out from the English ports of the fabled Upas. This country, tempting as it is, can only be penetrated at the risk of life; and it is melancholy to think, that those who have given us even the meagre information of the family of Fernig. He discovered them at last, refugees in the heart of Denmark. His gratitude ripened into love for the young girl, who had resumed the dress, the grace, and the modesty of her sex. He espoused her, and brought her home to his own country. Theophilus, her sister and companion in glory, followed Felicite to Brussels. She died there while yet young, without having been married. She cultivated the arts—a was a musician and a poetess, like Vittoria Colonna. She left poems stamped with masculine heroism, feminine sensibility, and worthy of accompanying her name to immortality.

Slowly they move, while every eye,
Is heaven-ward raised in ecstasy."

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